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MASSACHUSETTS STATE COLLEGE WEEK ISSUE

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ACADEMIC AUTONOMY AND ACCOUNTABILITY IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The natal time of higher education found problems of governance with a remarkable resemblance to the present. In the Middle Ages a complex structure of custom, law, and regulation organized university relations with government and guaranteed the consumer rights of students, the prerogatives of faculty, the role of administration in overseeing performance, and the protection of academic freedom.

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To observe Massachusetts State College Week, the editors present three articles and a book review which represent four ways of thinking about higher education. This issue is set in type and distributed through the courtesy of *Campus 79*.

Some Thoughts on Public Higher Education in Massachusetts

by Frederick Rudolph

In New Jersey there is no state system of higher education to speak of, but they have the Garden State Parkway and the New Jersey Turnpike, and every service station or truck stop commemorates a notable New Jerseyite, including Joyce Kilmer, who was born in New Brunswick and wrote "Trees." Massachusetts has a state system of higher education to speak of, but like most residents of the Commonwealth, I do not see it clearly. I think that I have a better sense of the names on the service station stops in New Jersey.

That last sentence should not be misunderstood. I recognize how vulnerable it makes what follows. But in assessing our state system and attempting to see it more clearly, I have allowed myself the great pleasure of time, concern, and contemplation. These unhurried thoughts I would like to share with others who have lived closer to the system and know it more intimately than I do.

Someone said that education is too important to leave to educators. Then, is it so unimportant that it can be left to politicians?

Grover Bowman, Williams College Class of 1906, was president of North Adams State from 1937 to 1955. I remember talking with him. He was incredibly proud of having held his state teachers college to a course of study more respectful of the liberal arts than was usually true of state teachers colleges. He left me with the impression that he was an educator, the president of a college, and that out here on the frontier, a million psychological miles from Boston, he was giving to his institution a special flavor.

When I correspond with colleagues elsewhere I sometimes study institutional letterheads. I have no trouble with correspondence with most of my friends in the various state universities, colleges, and systems: I know immediately the source of the letter. But a few weeks ago when I received a letter from a professor at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, it took me quite some time to figure out where he was and what he was doing, so prominent was the major element of the letterhead in proclaiming The Commonwealth of Massachusetts. I expected my correspondent to be no less

than the Governor. Why must the University of Massachusetts and North Adams State College be treated as possessions rather than as creations of the Commonwealth? I don't quite like the look or the sound of it. Perhaps I don't even like what it means.

The first state institution of higher education in Massachusetts was Harvard College. The next was Williams, chartered by the Commonwealth in 1793 and provided by the legislature with \$253,000 of support during the next 75 years. After Williams came all the other so-called private colleges that benefited from lotteries, grants of lands, and tax privileges. Later came the normal schools, then the state college at Amherst and the technological institute at Cambridge. It is doubtful if anywhere in Massachusetts there is an institution of higher education that has not benefited, by design of the legislature, from special privileges and supports. Thus, the mix of state institutions and independent colleges and universities that now constitute higher education in Massachusetts has a history that ties them all into the same tradition of social purpose.

Some colleges and universities are less beholden to politicians and more responsive to educators and teachers than others. John Bascom, who left the Williams faculty in 1874 to become the president of the University of Wisconsin and literally to make it into a university. came back to Williams in part because his advocacy of prohibition collided with the political interests of the dominant Republican Party. There was a time when Thorstein Veblen and other critics built a convincing case against the dominance of American universities by captains of industry. Nonetheless, in the twentieth century colleges and universities in the private sector have created a tradition of institutional independence and faculty authority. Boards of trustees have often been meddlesome and ignorant and disgraceful, and faculties have been stubborn and self-serving, but I suspect that our freedoms in this country owe a great deal to the integrity and guts of the governing corporations and faculties, learning much from working together, of such places as Harvard, Yale, and Stanford.

I am surprised to learn that North Adams State has no board of trustees, no responsible body that intimately understands the institution, loves it, and is particularly sensitive to its history, its problems, and its aspirations. This is true of all the colleges in the state college system: Boston, Bridgewater, Fitchburg, Framingham, North Adams, Salem, Westfield, Worcester, Massachusetts College of Art, Massachusetts Maritime Academy. They

are all fiefdoms, outposts, out of which the Commonwealth is apparently struggling to create a system.

The ten colleges in the Massachusetts State College system all have the same absentee governing board. Massachusetts also has the University of Massachusetts, the University of Lowell, and Southeastern Massachusetts University—in other words, three state universities—each with its own governing board. The fifteen community colleges in Massachusetts are governed by a single board. All these boards are responsible to the Massachusetts Board of Higher Education. Whether

all this adds up to a system of higher

education is another matter. One gets the

impression that if it is a system, it has not

yet been rationalized, and if it has been ra-

tionalized, the beneficiaries have been

politics and bureaucracy rather than

education.

itself.

No one should expect a system of higher education to be too tidy. In fact, it could be so systematic as to be stultifying. Yet, to the degree that community colleges aspire to the role and programs of state colleges, to the degree that the state colleges engage in graduate programs that are competitive with the universities, the system would seem to be at war with

The annual spectacle of every one of the state institutions breathlessly waiting each summer for the legislature to mangle its budget is unbecoming to the legislature, insulting to the men and women whose appointments are being held in abeyance, and embarrassing to administrators charged with staffing programs. The role of the central bureaucracy in all this is at best ambiguous. Is it essential to the shaping of the curricula, defining of standards, and certifying of budgets? Is its role heavier than it can carry effectively? Private colleges and universities falter or flourish in an environment of autonomy and diversity and rely on various independent accrediting agencies to keep them responsible. Does the state bureaucracy, the machinery of higher education in the Commonwealth, encourage or impede institutional autonomy and responsibility, diversity in the system, and a vital esprit among students and faculty in all branches of the network of higher education in the state?

Somewhere in a state system of higher education, decisions must be made about institutional missions and about the particular combination of purposes or emphases appropriate to particular colleges. Fitchburg has built for itself effective programs in computer science and the preparation of teachers of industrial arts.

Framingham pioneered in home economics. The Massachusetts College of Art and the Maritime College are what they say they are. North Adams, although it has five professional programs, is perhaps the most congenial college in the system for the student who is exploring, coming to terms with himself or herself, not yet ready to be subjected to a particular program instead of a general education.

In the 1960s and 1970s until the job market dried up, a career in college and university teaching attracted a large number of able and highly qualified young men and women who in other times would have found their way into law or business. One consequence was a noticeable strengthening of faculties in all kinds of institutions, and especially in the state colleges, which benefited, in their transformation from teachers colleges to comprehensive colleges, by a fresh input of holders of advanced degrees. This new element of professionalism on the faculties has created a level of self-respect and authority that may not altogether be understood by Massachusetts politicians.

For almost two centuries Williams College has intentionally defined itself as an institution for the preparation of the leaders of society. Even in its early years, when it was turning out young men who became clergyman, doctors, and lawyers, success in those professions did not require college degrees, but a role of significant leadership in those professions generally did. The democratization and industrialization of the United States have greatly increased the need for leaders as well as the kinds of professions in which they can serve. In liberal learning resides the kind of education that encourages the imagination, sensitivity, and wisdom essential to leadership. Not every American college can be expected to adopt the same mission as the old liberal arts colleges, but any state system of higher education must be so articulated and integrated that every son and daughter of Massachusetts can discover his or her own potential for leadership and not be blocked, sidetracked, or denied ac-



Frederick Rudolph

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(Jossey-Bass, 1977), was prepared for the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education.

cess to the kind of education which supports that potential.

In the Midwest and West society long ago turned to the state universities and colleges for leadership. Here in the East the influence of the older colleges and universities has denied to the state institutions an influence and authority comparable to that enjoyed by western institu-

If the state systems in the East are to fulfill their mission, they must make sure that an emphasis on vocational preparation does not lead to the neglect of the kinds of educational experience that nurture leadership. Just how the state universities, state colleges, and community colleges share and fulfill their responsibility to the education of leaders, as well as skilled technicians and well-trained specialists, seems to me to be the most important challenge that confronts the friends of higher education in Massachu-

A Higher Education Response to an Urban Need

by Manuel H. Pierson

Major Anthony White is a communications officer in the United States Air Force. He works in the internal security division of a special unit. Prior to his current assignment, he served as a communications officer in the U.S. embassy in a northern European capital. This is not considered unusual; but for Tony White it is phenomenal. Ten years ago no one in his neighborhood would have predicted anything but a life of crime for him. Now, everyone points to him with pride.

Major White is black. He is now about 30 years old. He has both the bachelor and master of arts degree. By any standards he is a successful, upstanding American citizen. He was a disadvantaged youngster from a one-parent home-one of seven children existing on government aid-to-

dependent-children.

Tony White, by all indices, was destined to be a failure, a dependent on society. either in prison or as an unemployed welfare recipient. He had been on the wrong side of the law from time to time. He used his leadership skills to encourage his peers to vandalize others' property and to terrorize his neighborhood. He had

fathered a child by age 16. He had been kicked out of school any number of times for verbal and physical assaults on teachers, fellow students, and administrators. After one year in Project Upward Bound, his high school delightedly gave him a diploma. Although his grade point average was above 1.00, by normal college evaluation methods he had a mere .47 on a 4.00 scale. In spite of this, Tony was described as having tremendous potential by a counselor who asked that Oakland University give him a chance. Supported by this recommendation, the Upward Bound director secured admission for Tony.

Despite his "no-win" background, today Tony is none of the things he might well have been but has achieved a success based on three sociological concepts presented by Arnold (1970) and accepted by Oakland University: 1) the dimensions of reality are laid down by one's culture; 2) a person chooses from the opportunities of his culture which act as a press and limit his potential; 3) a person will choose from among available opportunities and rise to the level of excellence which is prescribed by his preparation and the subculture in which he finds himself. With these concepts in mind, in 1966 Oakland developed a model for the survival, support, and success of marginal students who did not meet the traditional admission standards of the University. Major White is one of the results of these efforts.

There is nothing new or unique about Oakland's decision; institutions around the country have done likewise. Oakland's method was to develop a model which began with admission. Its model would serve an enlarged population from the urban enclaves of Detroit with a background of experiences such as those described above for Tony. The Oakland model had three carefully stated phases. Cohen (1970), in speaking of the creation and selection of solutions, supports Oakland's premise regarding the power of society and the individual's options:

One man responds to a barrier on the route to the same objectives. Another succeeds in convincing himself that the game is not worth the candle. Still another accepts, but with ill grace and an abiding feeling of bitterness and frustration, the inevitability of

The Oakland model was designed to locate the one in three who would respond to the barrier if given a chance. The power of the University-the president and the faculty—with a shift in priorities. decided to advance educational opportunities in three phases:

1. The admission phase departed from all traditional indices. Grade point averages and test scores were not employed as limiting factors in the pro-

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A Higher Education

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cess. Instead nonintellective factors were used.

2. An academic program void of the "hothouse" effect (special classes designed for the disadvantaged) but rich with an academic support system for students enrolled in regularly scheduled courses designed for everyone was used.

3. An empathetic environment was developed that addressed the life space needs of students without the stigma attached to being in a special program.

Phase One Admission

It was our premise, from the outset, that the success of students like Tony should start with identification—the admission phase. The University agreed that non-traditional measures would be used to identify and select students and that the Special Programs and Admissions Office would be coequal team players in this endeavor. Tony White was selected for admission using the methods described below:

 Recruitment was carried out through churches, social groups, civic leaders, and social and recreational workers in addition to traditional school sources.

2. A 2.5 GPA in college preparatory courses was used as a ceiling. Test data in the elementary schools rather than at the high school level were consulted as a guide

3. Heavy emphasis was placed on recommendations by persons who believed in Tony and the others (ministers, social workers, teachers, or persons in the community).

4. Each prospective participant was interviewed by at least three persons in as many settings—in his high school, at home, and at the University. The interview was the most important phase of the identification process. Heavy weight was placed on four intellective skills considered to be important in educational development. As we interviewed Tony White, we attempted to determine the level and the degree to which:

—analytical thinking took place. In our questions, we attempted to determine whether Tony could draw defensible inferences and could identify central issues in arguments.

—awareness existed. We asked questions that gave some indication relative to an awareness of the past, the present, and the future; how the applicant saw the broad ramifications and implications of ideas, events, and issues and whether he appreciated the historical development of human culture.

—communication was effective. We were concerned with whether the applicant had the ability to communicate clearly and concisely. We were not concerned about grammar or style, but with whether he was able to say what he wanted to say

-synthesizing skills were in evidence. Was the applicant good at organizing seemingly unrelated ideas into one common frame of reference and could he find unifying themes in diffuse bodies of information?

5. Nonintellective factors (Qualitative Symbolic Codes) served as the principal criteria for selection as determined in the personal interviews with trained diagnosticians—advisers in friendly settings (home, church, and school)

Man acquires knowledge and meaning through the utilization of symbols. Two kinds of symbols are normally used—theoretical and qualitative. Theoretical symbols are measured through paper and pencils means, while qualitative symbols are more difficult to measure. It was the qualitative symbols which became the conceptual framework for the program Oakland

The qualitative symbolic codes listed below were developed by Hill (1967) and were used in evaluating the interview. These codes were adapted for use by Robinson (1969), and later improved upon for the target population by Pierson (1978).

Qualitative Symbolic Codes

Empathetic—the capacity to identify with, or have a vicarious experience of, another person's feelings, ideas, or volitions

Ethical—a commitment to a set of values, group of moral principles, obligations, and/or duties.

Proxemics—the ability of an individual to judge "critical" physical distances between himself and others in the act of communicating.

Synnoetics—realistic assessment of oneself.

Transactional—an ability to maintain a communicative interaction which influences the goals of the persons involved.

Phase Two: Academic Support

W.E.B. DuBois (1964) once made a statement about the education of blacks which has served as the rationale for enrolling black students at Oakland University:

And when we call for education, we mean real education; we believe in work. We ourselves are workers, but work is not necessarily education. Education is the development of power and ideal. We want our children trained as intelligent human beings should be, and we will fight for all time against any proposal to educate black boys and girls simply as servants and underlings, or simply for the use of other people. They have a right to know, to think to aspire. (Emphasis added.)

As DuBois argued for black equality in the Niagara Movement (later, the NAACP), so did Oakland's administrator of special programs when Oakland's plans for the admission, support, and retention of black students were initiated in 1967. Access, it was decided, must focus on retention and success as well as admission

The Academic Support Program (ASP) contained two elements—a summer component and an academic year component. The summer component allowed students an opportunity to earn ten semester hours of credit during the ASP eight-week summer session.

Each ASP student was assigned to a four-credit mathematics class and a one-credit lab class as a result of a locally produced math placement test. A four-credit social science or humanities class was selected by the student according to interest; and a one-credit support seminar based on the learning theories of Ebbinghaus rounded out the formal part of



Vandenburg Hall, Oakland University.

the academic program. The support seminars focused on the communication arts. The seminar leader reviewed lectures, defined vocabulary, and taught notetaking, outlining, and summarization The seminars were designed to recognize that a large portion of what one learns is forgotten in a short time span. Therefore, notebooks were kept by each student and checked weekly.

The Skill Development Center offered three noncredit laboratories for referred ASP students staffed by skilled instructors assisted by tutors in each area. The mathematics lab assisted students with math concepts and practical applications necessary to proceed in their regular math classes. The reading lab provided individual reading instructions as a result of test data and/or referral. The writing lab gave individualized attention to students whose writing samples (taken during orientation) showed weaknesses.

The academic-year program for ASP students was less structured. It provided tutorial support for students according to need. In the fall students were enrolled in 12 credits according to major preferences, and up to 16 credits in the spring term. The first year was completed with as many as 38 credit hours (28 credits is sophomore status).

Phase Three: Empathic Environment

The third phase of the program was designed to provide an empathic environment in which students could persist through the four years. The focus of this phase was the counseling component. A particularized program was designed for students to assure an environment that was not too hostile and to provide them with the coping skills necessary to survive. The residence halls program (each ASP student was required to live in the dormitory during the first year) and attention to the social and psychological needs of students were the hallmarks of the nonacademic efforts.

Students were assigned counselors in the admission phase on a ratio of 1/40. However, each counselor had four peer counselor aides, reducing the ratio to 1/10. The peer counselors worked under the counselor's supervision with well defined responsibilities. The counseling program included three different parts:

-Human potential seminars met for two hours weekly in groups of ten; these were designed to help ASP students in goal setting, values clarification, and the development of coping skills and a positive self concept.

-Individual conferences were scheduled for academic program planning

purposes as needed.

Peer counselors served as big brother/big sister role models while also serving as the eyes and ears of the counselors, assuring that problem areas would not go unnoticed.

The counseling staff served as liaison between the Academic Support Program and other significant entities of the University. It assured that social needs were met through close working relationships with the residence halls staff and student activities planners. During the academic year the counselors served principally as the "glue" which kept the ASP students functioning in a productive en-

Eighty-five percent of the students enrolled with Tony White earned Oakland University degrees. Since then, the success rate ranges from 60 to 75 percent in each class. Tony White is not dependent on society today mainly because of the urban thrust of an institution and its innovative

approach to equal access

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Academic Autonomy and Accountability in Historical Perspective

by William P. Haas

Since the execution of Socrates for raising unseemly questions in the minds of Athens's youth, teachers have had good reason to seek out a little extra protection. As the process of learning became more formalized and institutionalized in the West, it became necessary for teachers and students to protect themselves against the arbitrary interference of other parties whether ecclesiastical authorities, government officials, or private citizens. Thus, with the emergence of universities in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a struggle began to determine the degree of autonomy to be allowed or conceded to the community of scholars and the locus of accountability for the orderly conduct of the community's affairs.

The reader is invited to consider two cases in point, one at Bologna and the other at Paris, which illustrate the nature of this struggle for autonomy and accountability. There are at least some interesting parallels that, if they do not teach any hard and fast lessons, demonstrate the complexity of the matter and its dynamic character. In a word, the struggle for autonomy and accountability did not end in a clear-cut resolution, but rather led to an ongoing exchange, often resulting in disruption of the life of the universities. The ally of one moment became the oppressor of the next: apparent success gave

At the root of the struggle was the declaration of a new range of purposes for the organized pursuit of knowledge. The monastic and cathedral schools served the intellectual and pastoral needs of the Church. However, the new guilds, nations. universities, and colleges set more specific, practical, and secular goals for themselves, namely, the study of law, medicine, and philosophy (the arts). A new kind of student, a new kind of teacher, a new kind of structure, and a new kind of relationship to the total society came into being. It was an unforeseen and revolutionary force, destined to change the direction of Western civilization. At the heart of the revolution were conflicting claims of independence and control

way to reversal

The new enterprise of institutionalized learning brought into confrontation, at times abrasive and even violent, four sets of interests: the students, the teachers, the sponsors, and the local community. The students came from all over Europe, sometimes well off, sometimes totally dependent upon ecclesiastical and other support. Faculty, a mixture of clerical and

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Academic Autonomy

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lay professors, relied upon church or royal support or upon students' fees. Since the universities did not begin with expensive buildings and facilities and books were rare, the sponsors provided finances for faculty and student support and a certain legal authorization. They attempted to use their leverage in order to maintain order and advance learning without encouraging "dangerous" theological or political opinions. Local communities were often unprepared for the onslaught of large migrations of young men with strange customs, little respect for local ways, and a sense of high purpose and ambition. They were also quick to perceive the economic advantages of the newcomers and fought to protect and exploit those advantages. The mixture of these ingredients was explosive indeed.

At the Studium Generale in Bologna the associations of foreign students were formed into universities or guilds for the dual purpose of protecting their civil and political rights and to guarantee the satisfactory performance of their teachers. A very different type of alignment set the character of the intellectual guilds at Paris where the association of faculty, according to their nationalities and their disciplines, set the foundation of the university. From these two irreconcilable types of organizational principles the great seats of learning in medieval Europe took their direction, at times imitating or modifying one or both of these models.

Bologna

Perhaps nothing illustrates better these four-way tensions than the situation in Bologna at the turn of the twelfth century. The students were not mere unlettered schoolboys, seeking their first exposure to learning. Many were already practicing law or were established clerics, often wellsupported and of an earnest and pragmatic frame of mind. They knew what they wanted: knowledge of the intricacies of the law, civil and canonical, and the forensic skills to succeed in the secular and ecclesiastical affairs of their homelands. They were not about to tolerate the abuses of local landlords, merchants, and law enforcement officials. Nor were they about to accept blindly the dictates of their professors.

Eventually, the student guilds consolidated their growing power into two guilds, the University Citramontanorum, for Lombards, Tuscans, and Romans, and the University Ultramontanorum, for Spaniards, French, English, and others. Each university elected its own rector under specific constitutional provisions designed to protect the interests of the various member nations. He was required to be a relatively young alumnus of his university, binding himself by oath to serve as chief magistrate in civil and



Begging Students. From a woodcut published in Nuremberg in the fifteenth century.

criminal matters, resolving disputes between students and masters, and controlling such student expenses as rents and books. When necessary, the rector was expected to call upon local town officials to deal with external problems. Where cooperation was not adequate, the rector, with a two-thirds vote of his council, could suspend university operations and then move the entire university elsewhere. The threat of strike was the students' ultimate weapon.

The rector's control also reached into the domain of the masters, since he paid their salaries and levied penalties and fines for such infractions as tardiness, absenteeism, attracting too small an audience, omitting course material, or failing to use the disputation method. To assist him in discharging this delicate responsibility, the rector had a secret commission of student spies who were under oath to cite faculty lapses.

Quite understandably, the masters did not acquiesce to student demands without a struggle. However, when they tried to secure the aid of local authorities

against the students, the students managed to gain full papal authorization for their practices of requiring oaths, imposing penalties, and migrating. The one prerogative of the masters that did remain inviolate, in spite of constant humiliation, was that of setting standards and certifying that a student had completed satisfactorily the course of studies. Eventually, the students lost their control when they lost the power of the threat of strike. This came about ironically as the result of their success: when they could afford to build and maintain residence halls, they unwittingly sacrificed their mobility. The faculty, who were forbidden to move, now rose to their rightful place of institutional control.

But, the student guilds of Bologna established beyond doubt one fundamental principle in the struggle for autonomy and accountability, namely, the principle of consumer rights. They did not derive their rights from an idealistic pursuit of wisdom, natural or supernatural. Their interests were secular and vocational, pragmatic and self-interested. They paid



Amaury de Bene teaching at the University of Paris. Detail of a miniature from Chronique de France ou de St. Denis, early 14th century.



Disputation at the University of Paris about 1400.

the bills, they were most efficiently organized, and they knew how to use their ultimate recourse, the university strike.

Paris

At Paris, the evolution of the university took quite a different turn, springing as it did from the guilds or associations of masters, and not primarily from the coalition of student interests as at Bologna. Before the end of the twelfth century, the teachers of Paris realized that they would have to unite if they were to direct their own affairs and be able to meet the surprising demands of large numbers of new kinds of students. Most significantly, the masters did not appeal to any other authority, ecclesiastical or secular, for the privilege of forming a society. They simply followed the well-established practice of merchants and craftsmen. However, they did have to appeal to papal authority for the specific guarantees they needed to protect their interests against others.

As at Bologna, the Parisian masters had to resort to the threat of migration to bring about the protection they sought. Thus, in 1200, after a violent quarrel with the town, the masters received papal confirmation of their prerogatives. In an even more significant showdown with the chancellor of the university, the masters won recognition of their right to elect their own rector and to be relieved of the onus of burdensome oaths of obedience to the chancellor, who was the last vestige of the cathedral school's preeminence. One additional weapon remained in the hands of the masters of Paris, that of the boycott, whereby they and their students could

render ineffective any teacher approved by the chancellor without their concurrence. Again, it took papal intervention in 1212 to force the chancellor to grant a teaching license to any candidate recommended by the masters.

It appears from the earliest documentation that the masters of Paris were more concerned than were their Italian counterparts with what is now called the academic freedom to pursue the truth as one sees it and to instruct students to challenge the established dogmas. Thus, not only were the masters organized into four "nations" encompassing the known civilized world, but they were also politically aligned around the four disciplines of Theology, Law, Medicine, and Philosophy. The latter became the most powerful unit which eventually chose the rector of the university and withstood the threat of interference from cutside

At the heart of the struggle for independence was the passionately argued issue, of whether the natural intellect. unaided by illuminations of faith or grace.has a life of its own? The argument was not merely theoretical since the vast treasures of Greek and Arabic science and speculation were to be exploited or lost depending upon the outcome. Hard as it is to believe, for a time the reading of Aristotle was forbidden at Paris, while upstart savants elsewhere flaunted their freedom to study what they would. It was the faculty of Arts or Philosophy which led the struggle for academic freedom and in time achieved the position of leadership among the branches of study at Paris.

The students claim for autonomy rested on the accepted proposition that craftsmen know their own craft best. In controlling the quality of goods and services, the guilds of masters were not all that different in principle from the guilds of merchants and artisans. Eventually, the pedagogical profession grew to the stature of the priesthood and the knighthood, especially through the protection of the papacy and local secular forces who saw the commerce in knowledge as a distinct economic and political advantage.

Conclusion

This brief excursion into the early struggle for autonomy and accountability in medieval academe leads to several conclusions. From the very beginning, it was necessary for students, faculty, and other interested parties to formalize in explicit contractual terms the conditions of labor for teaching masters, the norms of conduct within and outside the university, civil and criminal procedures, professional standards, and guarantees of "academic freedom." Consumer rights were recognized as equally important with professional prerogatives. Such practical needs (cont'd on page 8)

FROM THE NOTEBOOK

The poem begins with its first line. It does not come when bidden. It refuses to be used. Poems are not translations. The poem's primal audience is its own perfectibility. White cranes across water make the lake cohere.

TO MY DAUGHTER

My dear one, years alone, lost in the crowded attic of childhood or face pressed to widow's-watch glass while I like a maddened Ahab pursued the white, spume-blown hulk through violent seas, or lesser narwhales:

I dreamt I walked the shore, by death'swash roar, and a gray house loomed, and one in the garden there, young woman lovely in sunlight, with bright hair, "Daddy!" you cried in welcoming joy. but I knew. "Where's your mother?" "In the house." Warped clapboards and rotting stoop, salt garden picketed with whale bones. "Where am I?" "Under the sea." "I'm sorry I didn't do well by you." "That's all right. We're happy here."

My daughter, I shall wear the one laughing face in Hell, for love of you.

-R. G. Vliet

R. G. Vliet lives in Stamford, Vt. These poems appear in a collection of Mr. Vliet's work entitled Water and Stone, to be published by Random House

Academic Autonomy

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of the community of scholars as protection against violence, exploitation, and abuse were as germane to the claim of autonomy as were any claims of privilege for the searching intellect. Furthermore, the universities began as democratic selfgoverning, and intensely political societies which stood in sharp contrast with the hierarchical social structures around them. The role of administration was clearly distinguished from that of teaching and was to be subservient to it.

Accountability was essentially an obligation of the members of the universities to each other to maintain standards and render service and mutual support. Accountability to external authority was a limited outgrowth of this internal solidarity. Lastly, the progress in establishing the principles of autonomy and accountability was never so secure that it was immune to erosion from compromise and excessive self-interest.





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Books

EDUCATION FOR COLLECTIVE PURPOSE

Leadership, by James MacGregor Burns. Harper & Row, 1978.

by W. Anthony Gengarelly

James MacGregor Burns's Leadership is a work that embraces far more than its title initially suggests. This monumental study has been greatly influenced by sociopsychological theories (especially those of Erikson, Maslow, Kohlberg, and Piaget) in addition to historical and political analysis and thus ranges well beyond traditional explanations. For Burns power is a "relationship among persons." Ideally, he views the political process as a purposeful interaction between leaders and followers rather than a game between elites and masses:

The function of leadership is to engage followers, not merely to activate them, to commingle needs and aspirations and goals in a common enterprise, and in the process to make better citizens of both leaders and followers

Burns labels such leadership moral leadership, which through the realization of mutual goals lifts people "into their better selves." His definition goes to the heart of personal and social motivation

and taps a collective purpose that can lead to significant change: "There is nothing so power-full, nothing so effective, nothing so causal as common purpose if that common purpose informs all levels of the political system." Political skills-strategy and maneuvering-are important, but Burns views leadership in a much larger context. It is a dynamic process which enlists entire populations in movements for constructive change.

Employing these concepts Burns analyzes several types of leadership which he categorizes as either transactional or transforming. Transactional leadership is an exchange of services between leaders and followers whereby political support is gained through the gratification of constituents' demands. This kind of bargaining is most conspicuous in plurastic democracies where competition among factions leads to coalition and consensus around parties and issues. Although effective, transactional leadership does not reach beyond immediate needs or the exchange of services, and thus its ultimate impact on people and society is marginal. Too often this leadership mode signifies nothing more than the "science of muddling through," which Burns describes as, "the making of public policy by small adjustments, piecemeal responses, wrong turns, marginal innovations, short steps, limited actions-all leading to only gradual change. These actions of transactional leadership react to immediate situations and pressures, strike bargains with allies and adversaries, follow limited and short-run goals, and seek to maintain equilibrium and to avoid fundamental change."

Revolutionary and reform leadership-the transforming mode-come closer to satisfying Burns's definition of moral leadership. Even though revolution can go awry (witness the French experience) and reform fall short of genuine change (the incrementalist movements in American politics), Burns feels that periods of revolution and reform have served "in some way to help release human potentials . . . locked in ungratified needs and crushed expectations." During such moments of political activity, leaders identify more completely with their followers' deepest needs and help to shape and actualize them. Furthermore, ideological development, born of conflict, has put purpose into the political process, has activated public consciousness, and thus inspired real and necessary change. Burns's leadership examples are extensive and varied. Some, like Mao's revolutionary China and the reform administrations of Franklin Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, approximate his model, but moral leadership remains outside the realm of historical achievement. It is an ideal to stimulate thought and point in important directions.

More specifically, there is a sociological dimension to this book which moves it four-square into the arena of education:

Essentially the leader's task is consciousness-raising on a wide plane. . . . The leader's fundamental act is to induce people to be aware or conscious of what they feel-to feel their true needs so strongly, to define their values so meaningfully, that they can be moved to purposeful action.

Here is where general education is crucial, but as Burns suggests, it should be an education of mutual participation not of passive absorption. Thus, teachers as leaders "treat students neither coercively nor instrumentally but as joint seekers of truth and of mutual actualization. They help students define moral values not by imposing their own moralities on them but by positing situations that pose hard moral choices and then encouraging conflict and debate." In this way the school becomes a model for leader-follower interaction at the most basic level. Through an interdependent process leaders elevate followers and followers instruct leaders. Out of this vortex comes the recognition of needs and the development of goals, the kind of social planning which lies at the center of moral leadership.

Obviously, this search for values and purpose ought to serve as a source of inspiration and a focus of interaction within public higher education. Oftentimes, however, faculty, students, and administrators, like the "institution-bound policy makers" Burns describes, are too preoccupied with making things work and "concentrate on method, technique, and mechanisms rather than on broader ends or purposes." Functioning institu-tions which impart necessary skills are essential. Yet, technical training must never supplant the real life of a school where educational leaders and student followers identify individual needs, forge collective purpose, and create programs for human betterment. In the larger field of learning economics is as important as accounting, sociology as crucial as social work, and literature as significant as composition. A careful study of Burns's work reminds us that in our eagerness to achieve particular levels of expertise we cannot overlook the need for a liberal education, because when we are discussing truly creative leadership, "we are talking about the broader subject of the political education of all citizens in democratic environments."

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